3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 438 464 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from [648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 433 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism" and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial- [594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective [476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi- [736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as [602] sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./
603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grand-
children, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
.736 and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens
when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author
regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between
grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family
taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate
and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for
the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on
which they will have to make their first clearings.
[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters
of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely
in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's
own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.